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ILLING EMPTY SPACES: SOCIETY  
AND LAND STRUCTURE ON THE  
URBAN SPACE CONSTITUTION OF  
CASCAVEL — FROM THE  
*ENCRUZILHADA* TO THE 1960S

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ABSTRACT

On the contrary of those which became Brazil major industrial cities, Cascavel, located on the west side of Paraná state, is a product of the post-1930s Brazilian modernization. This paper, through the debate regarding territorial and urban “empty spaces”, aims to retrace its occupation and urbanization process. It is carried out alongside with historical events, political projects, economic dynamics and private and public officers performances which are related to it; its effects on the city land structure, in a sequence of moments and facts that dialogue with the local and national experience proves to be needed in order for us to achieve full understanding of this process, which is, itself, a discussion on the development of space.

KEYWORDS

Cascavel city. Modernization. Urbanization. Land structure.

DOI: [HTTP://DX.DOI.ORG/10.11606/ISSN.2317-2762.v24i43p36-55](http://dx.doi.org/10.11606/ISSN.2317-2762.v24i43p36-55)

Pós, Rev. Programa Pós-Grad. Arquit. Urban. FAUUSP. São Paulo, v. 24, n. 43, p. 36-55, 2017

PREENCHER OS VAZIOS: SOCIEDADE E  
ESTRUTURA FUNDIÁRIA NA  
CONSTITUIÇÃO DO ESPAÇO URBANO  
DE CASCAVEL — DA “ENCRUZILHADA”  
À DÉCADA DE 1960

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RESUMO

Contraface daquelas que se tornam as metrópoles industriais do país, Cascavel, situada no oeste do estado do Paraná, é produto da modernização brasileira pós-1930. Partindo do debate sobre “vazios” territoriais e urbanos, o artigo retraça seu processo de ocupação e urbanização. Situa-o no entrecruzamento de episódios históricos, projetos políticos, dinâmicas econômicas, atuação de agentes públicos e privados; seu rebatimento na estrutura fundiária e na cidade, em uma sucessão de momentos e fatos que dialogam com a experiência local e nacional e revelam-se necessários ao entendimento deste processo que é o desenvolvimento do espaço.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE

Cidade de Cascavel. Modernização. Urbanização. Estrutura fundiária.

## DEBATE INTRODUCTION: CONSERVATIVE MODERNIZATION, UNEQUAL AND IMPOSED DEVELOPMENT AND BRAZILIAN URBANIZATION PROCESS

The first people presence that was recorded where today Cascavel is, west side of Paraná state, near the Triple Frontier: Brazil – Paraguay – Argentina, dates back to the colonial period and it happens through a series of historical events which dialogue with the national experiences. It is necessary to fully understand it in order for us to comprehend its urbanization process. Its farthest vestiges are originated from the national urbanization and colonization scenario on border zones between 1920 and 1930.

At that time, in Cascavel, there were a few houses only, and they were isolated and distant from each other. However, it was precisely because of these buildings that the place was named, in 1936, as *Cascavel Village*. It became a town in 1952, going to the same direction and at the same pace as those which were about to become Brazil major industrial cities.

This period had major significance for the national economy and it set the end of the agricultural exporting cycle hegemony and the beginning of the “*predominância da estrutura produtiva de base urbano-industrial*”<sup>1</sup> (OLIVEIRA, 1972, p. 9). This process, instead of merely overcoming the previous system, involved a conservative pact between national bourgeoisie and land owners in a modernization scenery which did not imply rupturing power relations inside the State itself: “*aqui, passa-se uma crise nas relações externas com o resto do sistema, enquanto no modelo ‘clássico’ a crise é na totalidade da economia e da sociedade*”<sup>2</sup> (OLIVEIRA, 1972, p. 43).

The solution for the “*problema agrário nos anos de passagem*”<sup>3</sup> is related to “*a reprodução das condições da expansão capitalista*”<sup>4</sup> in Brazil (OLIVEIRA, 1972, p. 16), which involved high labour supply, land and State action on broadening its agricultural frontiers:

*Esse mecanismo é o responsável tanto pelo fato de que a maioria dos gêneros alimentícios vegetais (tais como arroz, feijão, milho) que abastecem os grandes mercados urbanos provenham de zonas de ocupação recente, como pelo fato de que a permanente baixa cotação deles tenha contribuído para o processo da acumulação nas cidades; os dois fenômenos são no fundo, uma unidade. No caso das fronteiras “externas” o processo se dá mediante o avanço da fronteira agrícola que se expande com a rodovia: Norte do Paraná, com o surto do café nas décadas de quarenta e cinquenta; Goiás e Mato Grosso, na década de sessenta, com a penetração da pecuária; Maranhão, na década de cinquenta, com a penetração do arroz e da pecuária; Belém-Brasília, na década de sessenta; Oeste do Paraná e Sul do Mato Grosso nos últimos quinze anos, com a produção de milho, feijão, suínos*<sup>5</sup> (OLIVEIRA, 1972, p.17).

The capitalist expansion happens through the development of new relations concerning the archaic ones and the reproduction of archaic relations which are related to the new ones. Therefore, the insertion of new relations into what was considered to be archaic stimulates the work force that sustains the urban-industrial accumulation. Besides that, the reproduction of archaic relations regarding the new ones preserves accumulation potential which exists exclusively

<sup>1</sup> Author’s own translation: “*urban-industrial productive structure predominance*”.

<sup>2</sup> Author’s own translation: “*in this case there is a crisis regarding external relations with the rest of the system, while in the ‘classic’ model the crisis concerns the whole of the economy and society*”.

<sup>3</sup> Author’s own translation: “*agrarian issue throughout those years*”.

<sup>4</sup> Author’s own translation: “*the reproduction of capitalist expansion conditions*”.

aiming the expansion of what is “new” (OLIVEIRA, 1972). Consequently there was an urban-industrial rupture with the current urban standards – urban reformulation and embellishment alongside the exporting agricultural expansion – that contradicts the utopia whereby there would be emancipation and modernization for all (MARICATO, 2001): while standing for a supposedly progressive thought, which actually is organized by an excluding economic system, this process ended up becoming segregative and marginalizing (SIQUEIRA, 2010).

These transformations are embodied on the Brazilian territory occupation process as well. The acceleration of western Paraná occupation and Cascavel expansion is deeply linked to its exporting and agricultural aspects through private and statewide initiatives concerning settlements and the creation and promotion of cities.

### LAND PROPERTY, REAL STATE MARKET AND URBANIZATION: NOTES ON THE CITY AS A PRODUCT AND THE “URBAN EMPTINESS” AS A HISTORICAL CONSTRUCT, “FILLED SPACES” AND “EMPTY SPACES”

<sup>5</sup> Author’s own translation: “This mechanism is responsible for both the fact that most vegetable food (such as rice, beans and corn) supplies in big urban markets come from recently occupied areas, and the fact that its permanently low prices play a role on the process of accumulation in cities; both these phenomena are, actually, a unit. The process, concerning the ‘external’ borders, happens through agricultural frontiers advances which occur alongside highways advances: north of Paraná state, because of the coffee production burst between the 40s and the 50s; Goiás and Mato Grosso states, in the 60s, through livestock expansion; Maranhão state, in the 50s, alongside rice and livestock expansion as well; Belém-Brasília, in the 60s; the west side of Paraná state and the south of Mato Grosso in the last fifteen years, through corn, beans and swine production”.

<sup>6</sup> Author’s own translation: “in a free land regime, work needs to be captive; in a free work regime, land needs to be captive”.

<sup>7</sup> Author’s own translation: “the enactment of the Land Law sets an important moment on how land is owned in Brazil, and it has major consequences to cities development”.

In Brazil, the territorial income emerges from the metamorphosis of slave capitalized income which separates the free worker of its work force as a way of assuring that work keeps subordinated to the capital. In other words, to own a slave is to own land as a way of extorting work itself instead of income: “*num regime de terras livres, o trabalho tinha que ser cativo; num regime de trabalho livre, a terra tinha que ser cativa*”<sup>6</sup> (MARTINS, 1979, p. 32). The discussion about the emergence of free work force is fundamental in order to understand Brazil urbanization process; after all, abolishing slavery creates major distress to land owners: the huge amount of available land is an obstacle to freeing slaves and, at the same time, it makes it difficult to keep immigrants as work force on farms (MARTINS, 1979).

Until the independence day, the *sesmaria* regime – urban *sesmarias* – rules over the urban centers organization. These land concession system combines policies which are related, simultaneously, to land occupation, agricultural production, urbanization and concerns regarding the obstruction of land access. On the beginning of the XIX Century this system reached a crisis period. Up to 1850 the “unclaimed land regime”, according to Rolnik (1997), prevails. It involves broad and indiscriminate land appropriation, as well as expelling small land owners from those lands, absence of legislation and State action on latifundiums structuring. The 1850 Land Law solves the issue by defining all unclaimed lands as State property and by allowing its occupation only through purchase titles.

To Rolnik, (1997, p. 23), “*a promulgação da Lei de Terras marca um corte fundamental na forma de apropriação da terra no Brasil, com grandes consequências para o desenvolvimento das cidades*”<sup>7</sup>: it makes land absolute and monetizable, which grants it product status and, therefore, makes it protected by legislation and a series of regularizations that were to be created in the future. This status change involved creating an urban real state market, as well as making more precise land lots, with

<sup>8</sup>The western space was intensely occupied over the beginning of the XX Century, when cities such as Cascavel, Foz do Iguaçu, Guaíra and Toledo are created. Currently there are over 50 towns around this area, which is bathed by the Iguaçu River and shares borders with Paraguay, Argentina and Mato Grosso do Sul state.

<sup>9</sup>We can highlight, broadly, the land lot trading scheme inside the allotments – firstly, poorly located lots are sold, then the ones with good location are sold, so that the occupation of the first increases the value of the last ones – to the urban land subdivision model which was introduced by some authors according to whom an allotment right next to another which was already provided with public services was never made, so that the land between these two could have its own value increased as these public services were also exploited by it. However, this widespread scheme is problematic, once these areas (which were already plotted and were in “standby”) were not clearly recognized as belonging to one single owner. The increased value would only happen if the land was an obvious monopoly, which means: while it was possible to speculate about what was inside the allotment, in the city itself this process ends up as being “anarchic”, because it promotes the “unintentional” increase in value of unrelated plots of land which were not plotted (BONDUKI; ROLNIK, 1982; KOWARICK, 1979).

<sup>10</sup> Author’s own translation: “*The suburbs as a way of reproducing the work force, inside the cities, are a direct consequence of how economic growth has happened in Brazil society in the last few decades. There has been, on the one hand, high work exploitation rates and, on the other, it forged exploitative tools that occur on the level of the urban condition itself to which the working class has been subjected to*”.

a predominance of orthogonal quadrangular lots regarding the urban space production and the strict separation of public and private spaces. Therefore, the legal urban devices, which were made on the second half of the XIX Century, assisted the real state market development. It was founded under capitalist ideals and territorial exclusion as it was unavailable for the “common people”. Even more than in colonial or imperial cities, the republican city expels and segregates (MARICATO, 1995).

Finally, the Land Law enactment and its outcomes *fill* the territory with product status, which brings forth the discussion on territorial and urban empty spaces as it is embodied in each historical period, which is a backbone for the social and historical formation analysis concerning the western space<sup>8</sup> and Cascavel.

In face of this approach, the urban empty spaces are the result of a process which has its foundations on the idea of the city as a product. Several agents act in its formation and it becomes a stage for social, political, economical and ideological relations. Therefore, what is produced inside the capitalist city is considered not to be divided in producing *filled* and *empty* spaces, but as a process that follows a very specific approach: it is dictated by the capital. The key for its understanding is not in conceiving the empty spaces as mere speculation tools which cause land to be inaccessible to people but as product of the captivity of which the urban land is also a victim. It is the result of a framework that, instead of institutionalising land access, restricts it (MARICATO, 1995).

Thus, a debate takes place, as the one that happened by the end of the 1960s which discussed São Paulo city growth as a peripheral pattern, by authors such as Cardoso *et al.* (1973), Kowarick (1979), Singer (1982) and Bonduki and Rolnik (1982)<sup>9</sup>.

*A periferia como fórmula de reproduzir nas cidades a força de trabalho é consequência direta do tipo de desenvolvimento econômico que se processou na sociedade brasileira das últimas décadas. Possibilitou, de um lado, altas taxas de exploração de trabalho, e de outro, forjou formas espoliativas que se dão ao nível da própria condição urbana de existência a que foi submetida a classe trabalhadora*<sup>10</sup> (KOWARICK, 1979, p. 41).

Once again, the space production is a consequence of the post-1930s Brazilian economic model, at the essence of which the *empty* spaces and the *filled* spaces should be understood as concrete displays of the historical dynamics which involve land and the Brazilian city itself: capitalist and product of land market, public policies and private agents action.

## CASCADEL, OCCUPATION AND NATIONAL BACKGROUND: THE FIRST PEOPLE

Cascavel integrates the last Paraná regional space to be colonized in a process which is usually related to successive economic cycles. However, its occupation is characterized by structuring elements from national life and territory, from *Peabiru Way* discovery by European explorers back in the XVI Century to the



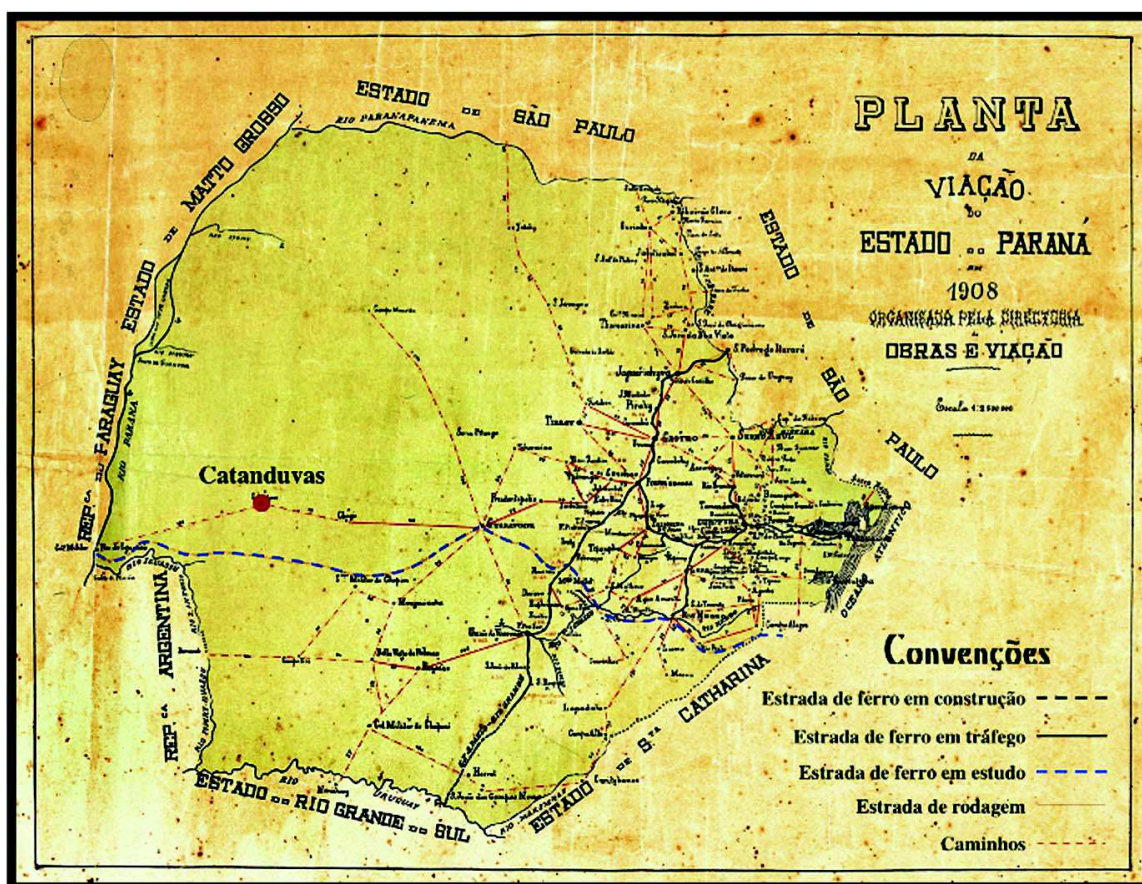
<sup>11</sup>The *obraje* was an *erva-mate* and wood exploration system which was typical from Argentina and Paraguay that endure in Brazilian soil for almost an entire century. They covered an area that went from the *Iguaçu River* and went over the area that is currently Cascavel (PIAIA, 2004).

*obrageros*<sup>11</sup> presence and the Argentina border establishment in the XIX Century, the *Strategic Road* inauguration, the *Tenentista Movement* (1922-1927), the *1930 Revolution*, the *March To the West*, the *Iguaçu Territory* creation (1942-1946) and the entrepreneurial and migratory movement which was a result of that.

Most recent historical interpretations come from these moments and usually describe the XIX Century as a time of State neglect, people were scarce and it was a major issue to access the area and mobilize it economically (WACHOWICZ, 1987; PIAIA, 2004). However, the Argentinean sailing agreement and its political borders definition back then would impact the western dynamics by incorporating the area to the national background and, at the same time, by opening it to the Argentinean exploration. The first plans to establish an actual community in the western Paraná state come from that scenario: the Foz do Iguaçu Military Settlement building (1888) and the acceleration of the *Strategic Road* building (PIAIA, 2004).

Even though the road deployment did not result in an automatic flow of settlers, pre-built support villages – Catanduvas – and small spontaneous centers – resting areas and other support centers, which is how the *obrages* named them (PIAIA, 2004) – are built along the road, some of which end up becoming actual villages (Figure 1). One of these resting areas, the *Gomes Crossroad*, displays Cascavel place in the intersection of occupation systems that take place over

Figure 1: Paraná State Traffic map and the ways to the west (1908).  
Source: Geoscience and Cartography Land Institute – ITCG (2014) (adapted).



time – so far, the *obrages* system, which was based in locations such as waterways, footpaths and warehouses that were used as places of *erva mate* harvesting and distribution to the waterways from the *Paraná River* where it was possible to sail: the way which was cleared by Gomes from his resting area at the margins of *Cascavel River* to *Lopeí*, where the *Nuñes y Gibaja* company head office, from Argentina, was located; and the land way which was cleared by the military at the watershed from *Piquiri* and *Iguaçu Rivers*.

Nonetheless, according to Piaia (2004) the insurgents passage<sup>12</sup>, who – after being defeated in São Paulo withdrew to Bauru, then to Três Lagoas and, once they were defeated there, they dominated Guaíra, Foz do Iguaçu and Catanduvas between the October of 1924 and March of 1925 (DIAS *et al.*, 2011) – exposed the strategic importance of the area, which attracted attention to a territory that was ruled only by foreign interest. At that moment Cascavel began to appear on the war reports and the press, which set the *obrages* decline and the region redemption<sup>13</sup> (PIAIA, 2004).

The following decade is crucial for the countryside occupation movement, which was brought forth by the *March to the West*, aiming to overcome the four century old tradition of coastline occupation only, to broaden the agricultural borders and primary goods offer inside the Brazilian modernization and industrialization scenario (REOLON, 2007). In this context, when immigration is modest and it is compensated by southern migratory movements, first colonization attempts are made, and they are seen not only as demographic fulfilling but also as economic exploration, border areas stimulation, industry integration, population rationalization and land planning (SCHNEIDER, 2002), all that happened inside the map that, back in 1939, was known as “western Paraná farthest *sertão*”.

In this new phase the “*March to the West Road Program*” is developed, BR-35 is built (current BR-277) in 1944 and the *Iguaçu Federal Territory* is created (1943 – 1946). Land federalization, carried out without Santa Carina and Paraná states approval which was justified under the banner of colonization promotion, favoured, according to Wachowicz (1987), southern settling companies and facilitated the emergence of small farmers. It reduced the state agrarian structure pressure (REOLON, 2007). Even after the territory had been occupied southern business owners, which were related to the *Paraná River Colonizing Logging Company* – MARIPÁ, acquire, from *Britânia Farm*, a Buenos Aires based English company, the land to the west of Cascavel, where they founded Toledo. It marked the beginning of southern migrants flow to the area (PIAIA, 2004; GRONDIN, 2007).

The aforementioned migratory flow, which was caused by colonizing companies, also affects the *Encruzilhada* region. However, as its lands were being litigated they were not, at the time, aimed by such companies. This legal issue began back on the first *sesmaria* land concessions when, while benefiting a particular social class, it created obstacles to less fortunate classes concerning land access, which triggered a series of irregular occupations regarding on wastelands (SERRA, 1992). Through the Land Law these remnant areas belonged, once again, to the federation, that allowed the irregular owners to regularize their possession of peacefully inhabited and economically explored areas. Although, its fragile

<sup>12</sup> In the 1920s the *Tenentista Movement* began, in the capital of São Paulo, with military nature, and it was known, among other aspects, by the 1924 *Revolution*, that was motivated by an economic crisis and power concentration in São Paulo and Minas Gerais politicians.

<sup>13</sup> The nationalist consciousness growth, the idea of reassuring clear geographical borders and the Foz do Iguaçu customs house pairing caused by increased taxes on *erva-mate* forced profit loss for the *obrageras* companies. Besides that, the accusations suffered by this system, mainly concerning work force exploitation and wealth smuggling by troops back in 1924, would put an end to the system as a whole.

record system ends up enabling document replications, which continued being an issue until 1891, when the first Republican Constitution assigned to the states the legal competence of ruling and legislating over its lands (SERRA, 1992). Their first action was to authenticate the rights which were acquired through the *sesmarias* and the ones granted by the Imperial Government.

In Cascavel region these concessions were granted to settling projects, public work execution and vegetal extractivism. Among the infrastructure projects was the one which was carried out in 1889 to João Teixeira Soares, a representative from the soon to be *São Paulo - Rio Grande Railroad Company*. This project endorsed a railroad building between these two states. As payment the government transferred the land located around the place where the railroad was being built to the concessionaire, which, through its legal agreement, transferred its rights to the *Brazilian Commerce and Aviation Company* – BREVIACO, in 1920 (PIAIA, 2004). Those lands were, then, divided in smaller parts by the company, except for the *obrages* lands and the parts which were currently under legal dispute, as Cascavel.

<sup>14</sup> Author's own translation: "these concessions were infected by disagreement and it resulted on documental instability for future agreements, where latifundiums, federation and states, land owners and settlers were going to dispute".

The legal and political issues make clear that "*a semente da discórdia brotou nestas concessões e se refletiram na instabilidade documental das posses futuras, onde os latifúndios, o Estado federal e estadual, os posseiros e os colonos, iriam digladiar*"<sup>14</sup> (PIAIA, 2004, p. 83). This is the Cascavel land situation from when, because of private colonizing projects, many settlers who did not have the means for land disputes, end up going to the wastelands of Cascavel, sharing space with the *caboclo* people.

However, the second half of the XX Century began with promises of improvement, according, mainly, to the arrival of settlers as an answer to the attention derived from the 1924 Revolution. Therefore, at the same time that animal traction was replaced by motor vehicles and the ferry boats which sailed down the *Paraná river* aiming to reach argentinean ports were giving space to steam cargo ships (PIAIA, 2004) modernization seemed to indicate where the western economy was heading to as the *erva-mate* extractive process was weakening, southern settlers were arriving and the territory occupation was being consolidated.

## STATE AND CAPITAL ON CASCAVEL URBAN SPACE CREATION

Up to the beginning of the XX Century Cascavel covers a series of isolated buildings which became, over time, clusters somewhat spread around the area and affected by geographical issues which, actually, embodied territorial social relations among these settling agents. It is clear that these urbanizing attempts in the beginning of the century happened sporadically and are not exactly organized, after all, there was not enough conditions on the part of the State and/or the private initiative so that the regional occupation was effectively implemented. Therefore, over the two decades before the World War II the settlers regular flow only assisted the delineation of villages as there was no accumulation of people, roads, or even an absorption industry that could incentivate the aggregation process (PIAIA, 2004).



<sup>15</sup> Author's own translation: "a quick succession of acts which aimed to check the legal situation of the Crossroad lands ended up transforming, suddenly, Nhô Jeca, from a tenant to a land owner".

The unique connection between two agents of Cascavel space definition is clarifying concerning this scenario back in 1930; state action – the *Strategic Road* – and the presence of pioneer settlers – mainly the character (nearly mythical for the locals) of *Nhô Jeca*.

Cascavel was marked by conflicts regarding property, the most recent, and perhaps most relevant, of those is the one related to BREVIACO. Measurements carried out in 1920 brought to light the existence of wastelands which were located between the *Companhia Barthe* property and *Nuñes y Gibaja* property. Over there the *Gomes Crossroad* was based, on the crossing of the *Strategic Road* and the rough road that the *ervateiro* Augusto Gomes de Oliveira opened. It connected a resting area on the margins of *Cascavel River* to an animals *invernada* belonging to Domingos Barth (Figure 2). On its surroundings the farmer, from Santa Catarina state, Antônio José Elias settled. In 1922 the lands where today *Cascavel Velho* were acquired from BREVIACO (SPERANÇA, 1992; MARIANO, 2012).

The state government nullify concessions made under Imperial Government after the interim government was announced. The BREVIACO concessions are among those, and, therefore, are also the ones which belonged to Antônio José Elias. They ended up being transferred to the trader named José Silvério, Nhô Jeca: "uma rápida sucessão de atos destinados a apurar a situação do domínio legal sobre as terras da Encruzilhada, teria transformado, repentinamente Nhô Jeca de arrendatário que era, em proprietário das terras"<sup>15</sup> (SPERANÇA, 1992, p. 103). This new *Nhô Jeca Crossroad* was located further from the old *Companhia Barthe* property, on the crossing of the Gomes de Oliveira road towards Lopeí with the *Strategic Road*, the highest spot between *Piquiri* and *Iguaçu* watersheds (Figure 3).

Nhô Jeca had a clearing opened on the *Crossroad* and also had some chipped pine tree houses built in addition to a warehouse which aimed to serve travelers with whom, due to the property range, he started to negotiate land. This set a first organizing moment to the soon to be Cascavel city, that already had Foz do Iguaçu mayor, Othon Mader, as a supporter. The mayor requested the state intervenor an area of 500 hectares that was located on the *Crossroad* in order to build the *Aparecida dos Portos de Cascavel Municipal Patrimony* (SPERANÇA,

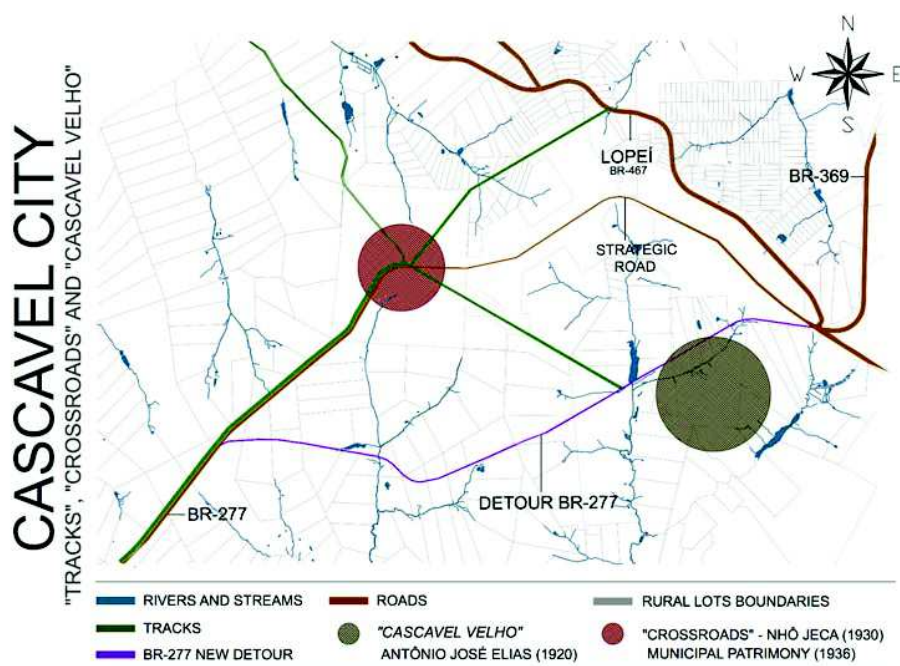
1992). In 4 of September of 1933 76 lots (blocks) were donated, including over a million square meters, to Foz do Iguaçu by the Paraná state governor and the measurement and definition of the *Crossroad* lands are authorized by the intervenor Manuel Ribas aiming to create the *Cascavel Municipal Patrimony* (Figure 4) (SPERANÇA; SPERANÇA, 1980).

In spite of the Foz do Iguaçu city hall incentive to the *Municipal Patrimony* occupation through land donation to third parties using property titles and *aforamento* letters the absence of

Figure 2: *Central Barthe* campsite.  
Source: Sperança (1992).

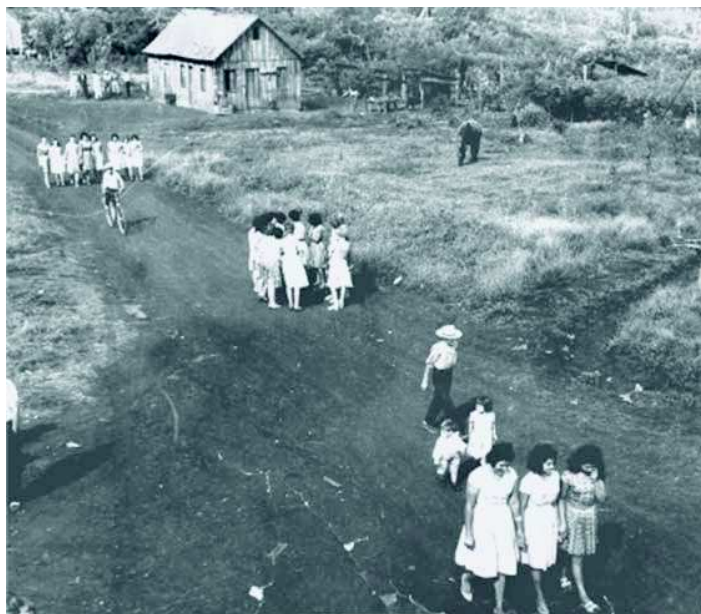


Figure 3: Trails, Crossroad and Cascavel Velho.  
Source: Author (GeoPortal basemap from Cascavel).



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governmental initiatives aiming to boost the region development, up to the 1940s, ends up impairing the *Municipal Patrimony* as an urban space. The occupation intent concerning the area locally known as *Crossroad* and not the old Antônio José Elias's occupation and Augusto Gomes de Oliveira's occupation, the *Cascavel Velho*, is evident. Dércio Galafassi, son of Florêncio Galafassi, which was a director in *Paraná Industrial Logging Compnay*, while testifying says that when he arrived in Cascavel, by plane, in 1948, there were only few houses there:



*Quando nós chegamos aqui nós ainda pertencíamos a Foz do Iguaçu, Cascavel era distrito de Foz do Iguaçu, então, cidade não era cidade, era um povoado às margens da BR-277, hoje 277, mas naquele tempo era a Estrada Estratégica que de Ponta Grossa mandava à Foz do Iguaçu e que é hoje a nossa avenida Brasil. Aí é que era a rua principal. E,*

Figure 4: First families from Cascavel walk at the *Old Patrimony Crossroad* (1930).  
Source: Sound and Image Museum – MIS (2014).

<sup>16</sup> Author's own translation: "When we first arrived here we still belonged to Foz do Iguaçu, Cascavel was a Foz do Iguaçu district by then, it was not an actual city, but a small village at the BR-277 margins, which today is 277. Back then what was called the Strategic Road, that from Ponta Grossa sent goods to Foz do Iguaçu, is now our main avenue. That was our main street. The houses I said that were on the BR-277 margins (...) which were there, let's say, subjected to several issues, such as dust, wind and, among those buildings there were two or three trading places, like the post office which already existed, the telegraph was already there as well, scarcely, for sure, but it was there already. There was also a resting area here between Santo Antônio Church and Camagril, on Brasil Avenue, a FAB landing field back then, and it belonged exclusively to the Brazilian air force. The city was just that, a village that belonged to Foz do Iguaçu, with no conditions of having electrical energy, water or anything whatsoever."

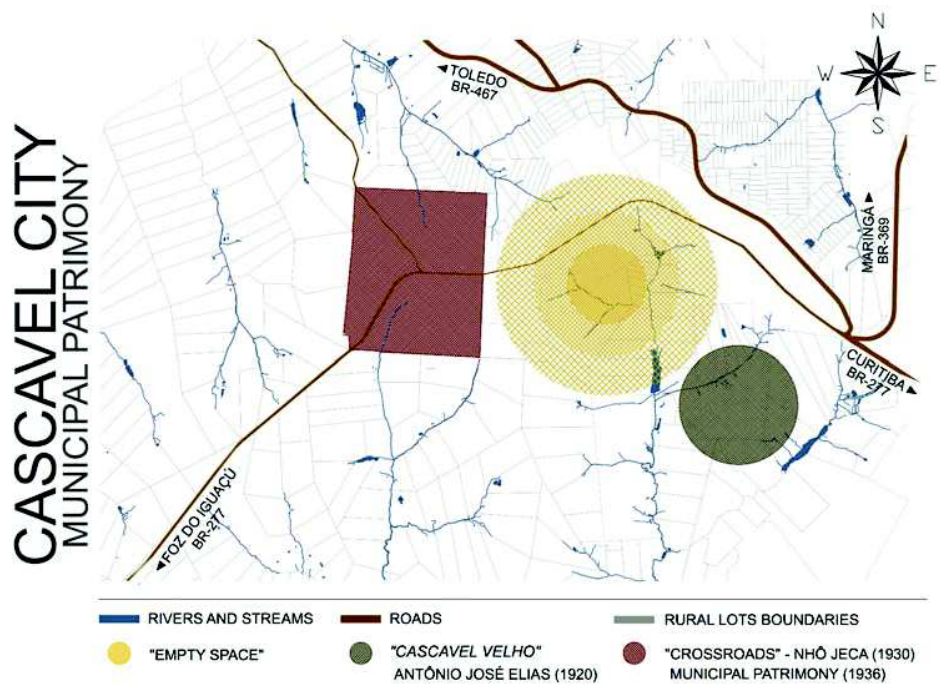
*aquelas dezenas de casas que eu falava eram encostadas às margens da BR-277 (...) que estava ali, vamos dizer assim, sujeita às intempéries, ao pó, ao vento e, aquelas poucas casas aí, que constavam ali, tinham uma ou duas casas comerciais, tinha o correio já, o telégrafo existia, precariamente mas existia, havia um campo de pouso aqui entre a Igreja Santo Antônio e a Camagril, na avenida Brasil, campo de pouso da FAB, e era só exclusivamente da FAB esse campo de pouso. E a cidade era isso, era a vila aquela pertencente a Foz do Iguaçu, sem mínimas condições de energia elétrica, sem água, sem nada<sup>16</sup> (PROJETO MEMÓRIA VIVA I, 2009).*

Galafassi writes about the settlement known as *Nhô Jeca Crossroad*, where some trading places were located, as well as a telegraph and an airfield. Therefore, even if the *Gomes Crossroad* settlement is older Nhô Jeca's surpasses it concerning its owner as a city personality, which results in more attraction for the areas to the northwest from its property.

The first empty space building is precisely this one, located between *Nhô Jeca Crossroad* and the resting area belonging to the *erva-mate* producer Domingos Barthe and, afterwards, from Augusto Gomes de Oliveira's (who was also an *erva-mate* producer) resting area and the first houses, built by José Elias at the *Gomes Crossroad*. These settlements were founded on separate sites based on specific topographic and spatial criteria, according to the kind of activity and production that was carried out in them, among these criteria is the overcoming of the "antique" or "outdated" – the *Cascavel Velho* area.

Premature segregation situations are, then, identified due to State actions on choosing these sites and agglomerates in the newly born Cascavel – perhaps due to dimensions, location or, as seen, personal and political relations, such as the

Figure 5: Municipal Patrimony.  
Source: Author (Cascavel city hall basemap).





case regarding Foz do Iguaçu mayor and Nhô Jeca. It is evident that the first empty space in Cascavel was the one left by the State Government in accordance to the local population when, in 1933, Cascavel District creation is demanded at the site known as *Crossroad* (Figure 5).

## CONSOLIDATION: “FILLED SPACES” AND “EMPTY SPACES” STATEMENT AND FORMATION

Cascavel was 4.411 inhabitants big according to the 1950 demographic census. 90% of these inhabitants lived in the rural area (MARIANO, 2012). At that time the city growth was no longer connected to Nhô Jeca attracting friends and family, after all, even if state initiatives are limited they were crucial. The population in the small Cascavel District was growing and, in the 1950s, it drew the state governor's attention. Cascavel was emancipated and the city foundation was declared on the 14 of December, 1952. In order to found it the

state government transfers, in the same year, a piece of land that was plotted, picketed and provided with resources which consisted of 2500 lots, to the city hall for future government departments and parks (Figure 6). This new area is then called *New Patrimony*, in opposition to the *Old Patrimony* – *Municipal Patrimony* –, related to when Orthon Made declared it while he was a mayor in Foz do Iguaçu (SPERANÇA; SPERANÇA, 1980).

Alongside the wordplay which switched the *old* for *new*, the municipality incentives for purchasing land and episodes such as the *Nossa Senhora Aparecida Cathedral* transference, in 1952, made promoting the new urban area an easy task. Beyond religious dimensions, the new church brought forth contents that were related to modern times imaginary and that were related to the dispute concerning contradictory interests such as those from Luiz Luíse Priest who claimed Cascavel as not only a rural area – *Old Cascavel* – neither as an *Old Patrimony*, but as a new and actual city, *New Cascavel* (SPERANÇA, 1992).

Reversing Cascavel image from *old* to *new* is provided with historicity since, as both the conservative modernization double process and the brazilian urbanizatin/ industrialization process were very

Figure 6: *New Patrimony* blueprint (state reserves are highlighted).  
Source: Agrarian Reform and Colonisation National Institute – INCRA.

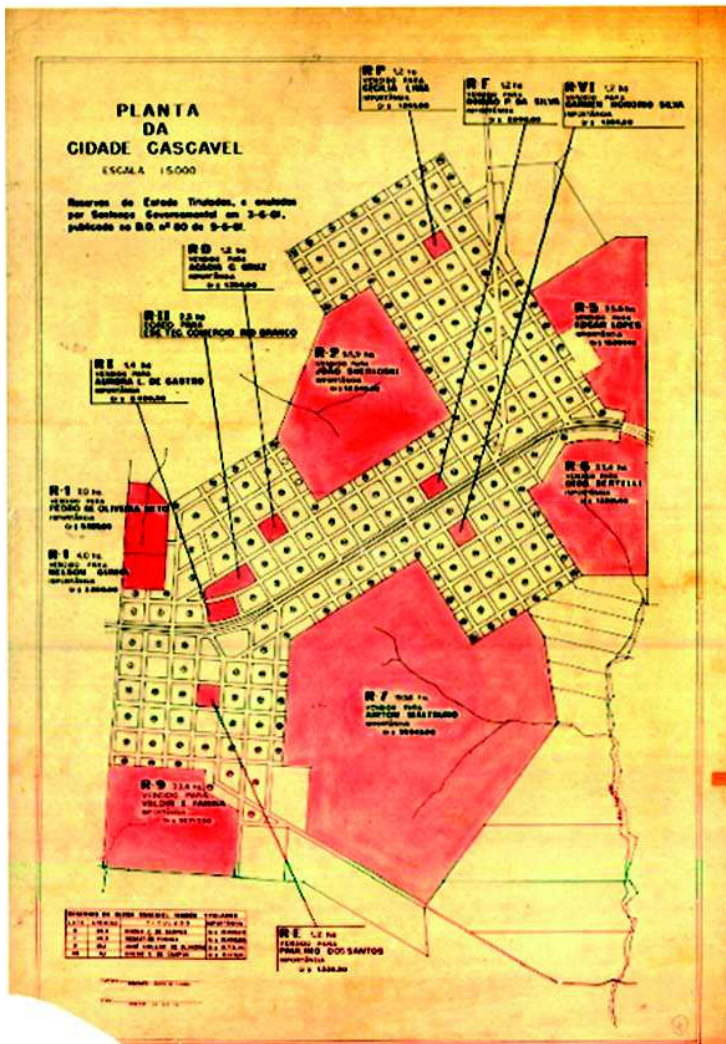




Figure 7: *New Patrimony* (green) and *Old Patrimony* (orange) view in the background (1957). Source: Sound and Image Museum – MIS (2014).

advanced already, Cascavel was, then, consolidated as part of the national economic scenario, and this implies overcoming the past. Therefore, in 1959, the *Old Patrimony* – which had not been embodied between the 1930s and the 1940s – was divided again and a new design was brought forth by the Municipal Law n 251 from 1959, that unified the *Old Patrimony* and the *New Patrimony*, and, because of that, the city downtown was created (Figure 7). It pulled Cascavel away, in the beginning of 1960, from its pioneer and *old* period (SPERANÇA, 1992).

Although the *New Patrimony* was attached to the old one, which increased its area and the city perimeter, there is no relevant expansion in the urbanized area, as the *Old Patrimony*, as seen, had thrived. Therefore, the *new* is promoted regardless of how the *old* would be dealt with. The *New Patrimony* is, actually, a new area – *New Cascavel*, as it was defined by Luíse Priest – and it was installed between two small agglomerations – *Crossroad* and *Old Cascavel*. It was connected to them and at the same time it tries to keep them away from each other as State Reserves are installed around it (Figure 8).

These are, therefore, State formed spaces, which created and, at the same time, completed empty spaces or connected and separated places not through filled

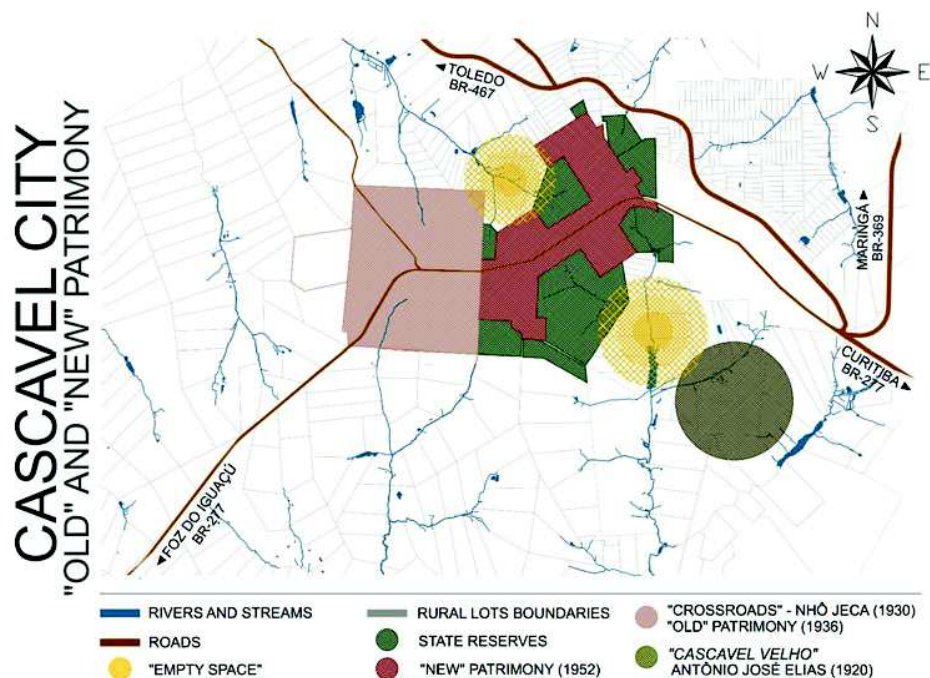


Figure 8: *New Patrimony* location. Source: Author (Cascavel city hall basemap).



and empty spaces but through purposeful space functions which, as it also implies, demanded the *emptiness* of those spaces.

The State Reserves (Figure 9) which are suggested for the *New Patrimony* urbanistic project were installed next to watercourses and slope areas that were, therefore, hard to be accessed, mainly because of its orthogonal designs as the standard for these settlements and they are not identified as empty space areas as they are produced by the project authors, even if their purpose is yet to be granted. In this regard, the first Reserve to play this role is R1, which separates the *Old Patrimony* from the *New Patrimony*. The north Reserve – R2, is almost enclosed by the city, as it is around a watercourse and, not aimlessly, it is not completely occupied even today. R4 and R5 Reserves, next to the *Strategic Road*, between the *New Patrimony* and *Lopeí Road* form, unarguably, a halfway area between the urbanized and the road. R6 Reserve, to the southeast, towards *Old Cascavel* was located right on the course of the Cascavel River, as well as the R7 Reserve, which, eventually, separates – or connects – the *New Patrimony* to *Old Cascavel*, even if, for this purpose, the Cascavel River is there, as well as an area where back then (1952) the “urban lots” were measured and demarcated. R8 and R9 Reserves were clearly created to separate, through a narrow path on the highest part of the area, the *New Patrimony* from Cascavel urban lots.

Cascavel has, therefore, its “filled spaces” and “empty spaces” built by the city and the state government initiatives (both are filled with meaning) which would then form the basis where the urban space would be established over time, usually by private initiative, that would redefine these spaces, by giving new meaning to them.

Figure 9: State Reserves.  
Source: Author  
(Cascavel city hall basemap).

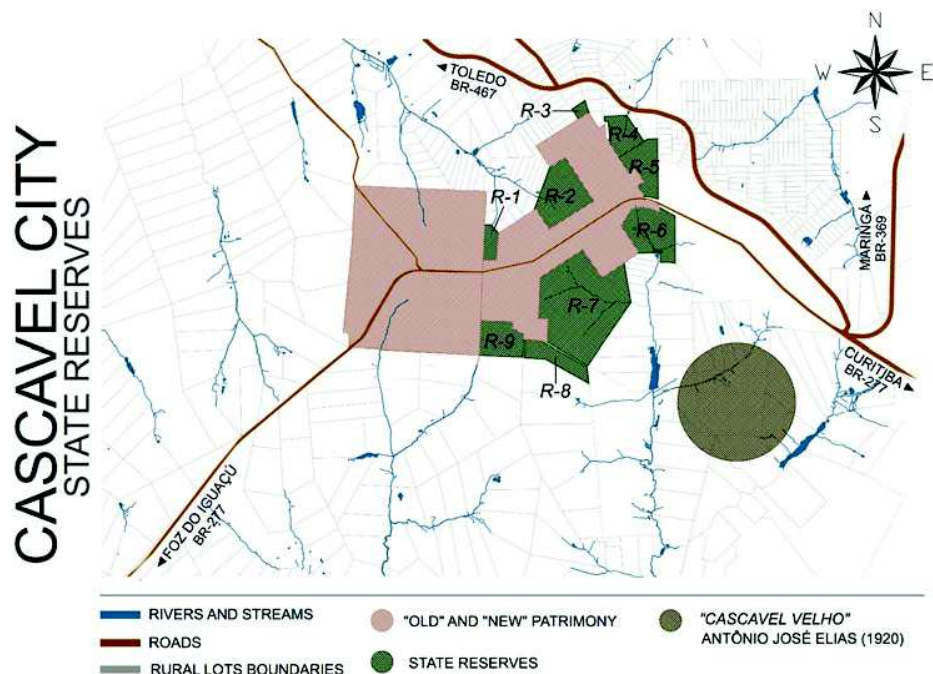


Figure 10: Urban lots evolution over the 1960's.  
Source: Author (Cascavel city hall basemap).

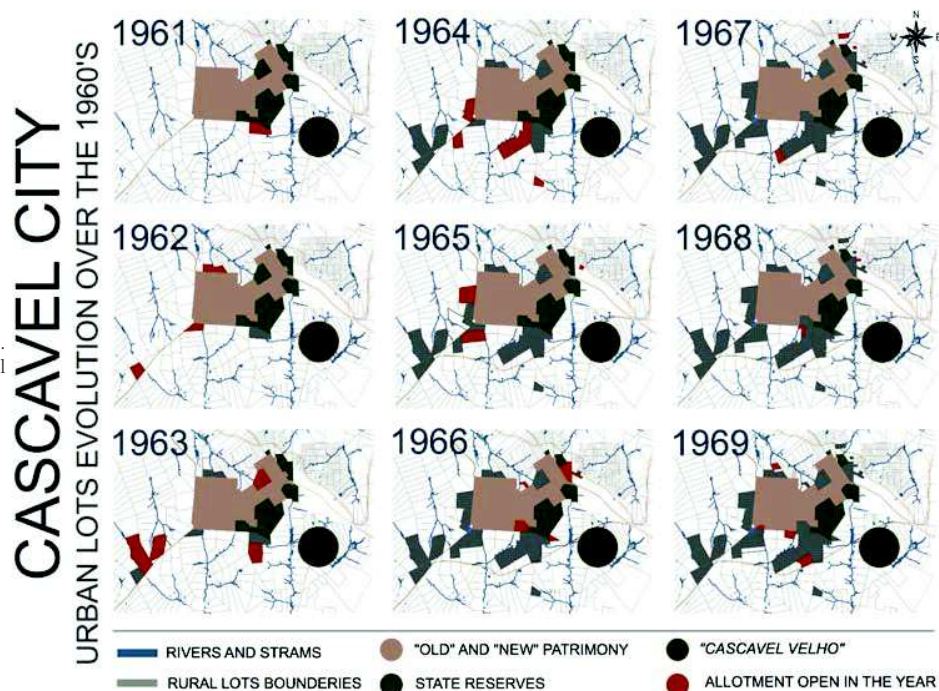
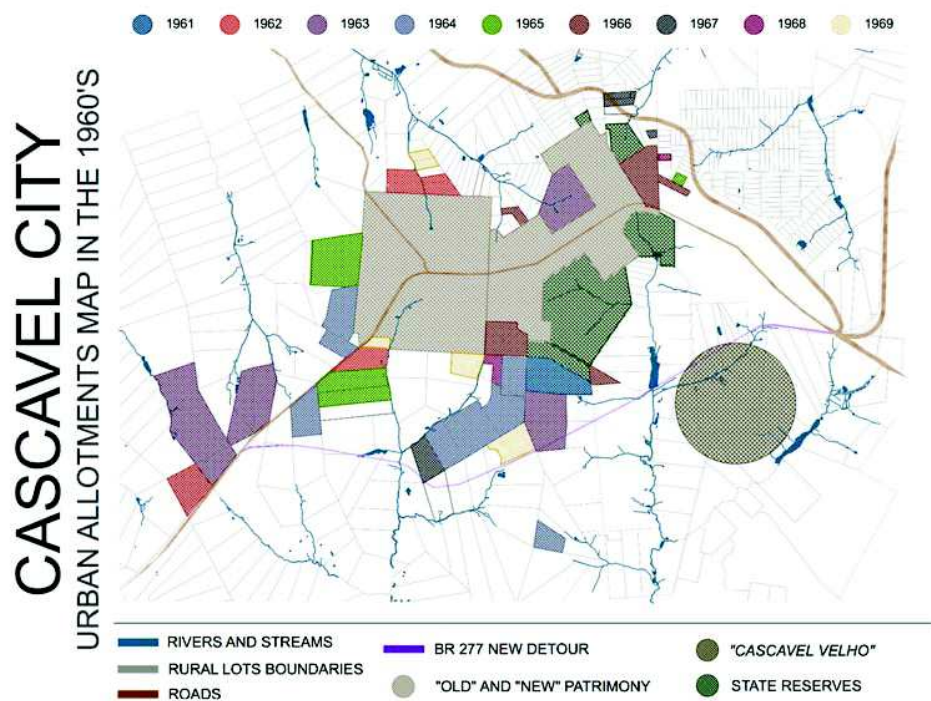


Figure 11: Urban allotments map in the 1960's.  
Source: Author (Cascavel city hall basemap).



State Reserves were the first to be subjected to this process as they are nullified in 1961 to become private properties. Therefore, if those areas, instead of empty spaces, were formed by *free* or *unoccupied* areas which were anticipated in a project and were, consequently, defined as Reserves, from that moment on there is a major change in their meaning after they are privatized and plotted one after the other over the 1960s, alongside with the other 33 lots that were created between 1961 and 1970 (Figure 10).

The lots that were opened over the 1960s follow three clear occupation standards: the proximity to the *Old Patrimony* and the *New Patrimony* through the State Reserves; the opening of lots over the *Strategic Road*, BR-35 at the time; and the lots to the South (Figure 11).

To the southeast there are lots which were separated from the original urban settlement but were connected to it by the main road. However, if on the one hand the infrastructure availability is crucial for this uneven expansion, on the other it precedes the lots and, consequently, it is not part of the infrastructure value increasing/speculation scheme that was carried out by political decisions concerning infrastructure. This tendency for occupying the way over the *Strategic Road* towards Foz do Iguaçu, which begins in 1962 and is strengthened in 1963, matches the fate of the low income population that could not have access to places near downtown or even near the city itself. This process highlights the segregation and urban spoliation, as it was previously discussed (Figure 11).

The full space exploitation is another attribute of those lots, where even the watercourse margins were used as a way of producing the goods the traders desired: urban lots, that would be offered by the capitalist system other end: the lot planners.

Either way, it is remarkable how the allotments along the main road follow a different standard than those which were to the south of the initial plan, that are, from the beginning, adjacent to it and the preceding lots, in a "centripetal" movement. In particular, in 1963 the R2 Reserve is occupied and more than filling empty spaces it meant something new, the consequence of a certain "filled space" which began with the Reserve and its legal documents termination only two years before that.

Besides being premature – the first one is from 1961 – the allotments located to the south are followed by one another over the decade towards the BR-35 detour, which was inaugurated in 1965. This new road was named BR-277 and the old road was, afterward, called Brasil Avenue. This would be a first step towards Cascavel urban planning (DIAS *et al.*, 2011). At least two among the four recorded allotments happened over that year, most likely due to the BR-277 inauguration, which reveals a tendency, from the previous year, of rearranging the land real state business and city growth towards south.

1967 sets a second crucial moment concerning city expansion, this time in opposition to the big allotments which were approved in the first half of the decade. It is characterized as a low territorial expansion period that spans over to the 1970s. Although three new allotments had been recorded that year, all of

them had smaller areas, as it had happened since the previous year and continued even in 1968 and 1969.

In 1967 the first allotment next to the BR-277 was done, and it set new occupation standards, characterized by social segregation. The allotments to the south of the detour built by the state, where *Cascavel Velho* was for over four decades, are intended for low income people. The same situation happened with the allotments to the north of the road towards Toledo.

Even though these allotment areas were based on seizing the increased lot value caused by the urban center that was there already or by the existence or expectations on infrastructure promotion, it is not possible to confirm, through analysis, that the occupation process had happened in accordance to previously discussed schemes, as the owners did not set aside land between their allotments and the urban area. On the contrary, they set their business on the urbanized area (south) and the road structure which was already there (southeast). It is necessary to emphasize, however, that when the same individual owns two or more lots, the farthest one from the urban area was the one to be plotted, and it caused the lot between them to have its value increased. In every case the situation converges to the hypothesis created by Kowarick (1979) and Bonduki and Rolnik (1982).

In the end of the 1960s, taken into account because it matches the period for which the aforementioned hypothesis was developed – previously to the structural changes that took place up from the beginning of the 1970s –, four new allotments are recorded, and it set again the occupation rhythm from the beginning of the decade, without the understanding, perhaps, that the prices were going to be increased again in the decade to come. It happened because the administration back then had implemented incentive policies to the foundation of new allotments, among other factors, which discarded criteria concerning their location or the urban perimeter establishment. New territory occupation standards are, then, derived from this situation, and they are marked by dispersion, which coincided with intense migratory movements, as the outcome of the recent countryside mechanization and, as a consequence of it, its rural exodus, that set a new period for Cascavel urbanization process.



## CONCLUSION

As discussed, the 1930s set the end of several political and agrarian dominated centuries and the beginning of a modernization process which mixed economic growth, industrialization, urbanization and inequalities reproduction. While industrialization displays were evident among the major Brazilian cities, equally intense transformations took place in its rural borders over the country, such as those from the Paraná state western area and Cascavel, that happened in opposition to those from the big cities, mainly concerning how the fast colonization and urbanization processes happened, in addition to the issues involving land conflicts. Therefore, on the contrary of the highly spread idea of privileged location and topography, we see that Cascavel occupation process is, actually, a product of economic models and space production processes which were marked by unequal development, in addition to land property becoming absolute, intense work force exploitation and segregation and the city changing into a mere trading product. The analyses that were carried out by Kowarick (1979), Bonduki and Rolnik (1982) and Maricato (1995), are also relevant, with due mediation, to the exporting agrarian issues.

This paper aimed to identify structuring elements concerning Cascavel occupation process and its consequences for its urban space production. We focused on the most significant local and national history moments for the city emergence and consolidation by discussing, as it was possible, the relations between them. The presented theory points out to a series of discussions that are relevant to the aforementioned process – mainly regarding the Brazilian modernization, the private land appropriation and the empty spaces discussion – by highlighting this process' dynamics enhancement and its changes over time concerning the time span we are discussing.

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#### Authors' Note:

This study was part of the master's degree dissertation titled: "Filling empty spaces: land structure role on the urban space constitution of Cascavel – from the first settlers to the 1960s", presented at Maringá State Univeristy, under the guidance of Prof. Dr. André Augusto de Almeida Alves.

**Editor's note**

Submitted: 02/29/2016

Acceptance: 03/30/2017

English revision: Douglas William Machado

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